1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

829 filial piety was extolled above all others in the Confucian system. It denoted not only the obedience and devotion of the son to his father, but of the younger to the elder, and of the subject to the ruler.

618 621 Two types of organizations built on the foundation of the family were utilized by the state in maintaining peace and uniformity throughout the empire. One was the clan, or tsu. It bound together families with a common ancestor to promote their security and advancement. Relying for strength on the maximizing and formalizing of kinship ties, the tsu reinforced the authority of the family head and the values he imparted to the younger generation. The tsu settled disputes between families, conducted ancestor rites for any member of a family whose line died out, provided help and protection in times of trouble for the lower class members, and safeguarded the social and economic position of the well-to-do. Where the tsu was strong, it governed the village with little interference from the central government, except in matters of high crime and taxes. The advantages to the Confucian state of the tsu were deemed sufficient to compensate for its encroachment on the state's jurisdiction.[5]

In gathering together all the members of

5. On the clan see Hu Hsien-chin, The Common Descent Group in China and Its Functions (Viking Fund Publications in Anthropology no. 10), New York, The Viking Fund, Inc., 1948.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

618 the tsu for the yearly rites honoring its ancestors,
621 this social institution served to bring the poor and uncultured into contact with, and under the influence of, the well-to-do and educated gentry. Its more accomplished members headed the clan and represented the closest approximation to the ideal of the "superior man" (chün tzu). Meetings with such men, whose behavior was patterned by leisure and education beyond the means of the great majority of society, provided the lower classes with living models for emulation and opportunities to impress the young with the proper attitude of respect toward their social superiors.

631 Another institution based on the family utilized by the state was the pao-chia system. As it was constituted under the Ch'ing Dynasty (1644 to 1912) and again in the 1930's by the Nationalist Government, ten adjacent families were grouped as a p'ai, ten p'ai as a chia, and ten chia, or one thousand households, as a pao. The head of each unit was responsible for the conduct and defense of those households under him, and the head of the pao had to answer to the government for the conduct and protection of the thousand households.

D. Economic Role

423 As the definition of the term "family"
596 infers, it was the basic economic unit of the society. Real property such as land, houses,

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

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carpenters, masons, barbers, watchmen, sheep herders, or cotton ginners, but only 2.9 per cent reported such work as their primary occupation.

Government work, including the police force and the army, employed 2.1 per cent of the males. Nine reported government work as a secondary occupation but they were village officers, heads of street organizations, or engaged in other community work, all of which was usually unpaid.

The apprentice system was used by some stores in the villages but was not a large economic factor in the countryside. There were only four apprentices in the 515 families. On this basis the total for all the village families was some 530 apprentices.

The small number of students, 48 males and three females, indicates the small amount of school work done by the adolescents in the rural areas. Twenty-four men were engaged in teaching or school administration.

Twelve per cent of the males and 51.5 per cent of the females were doing work classed as Home Industry (see Chapter XV), making articles for sale and receiving their pay from profits rather than from wages. For all but seven of the 156 males their home industry was a secondary occupation. Those seven reported weaving as their primary work.

Spinning, weaving, or both, were reported by 9.7 per cent of the males and 50.4 per cent of the females. Only five males did any spinning. Of the females doing spinning and weaving, 81.6 per cent did only spinning, 1.3 per cent did only weaving, and 17.1 per cent did both.

Chinese Surnames

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One hundred and ten surnames were represented in the 10,445 families in the 62 villages of the Experimental District. There were 1,419 families named Wang and 856 named Chang. The Liu families were third with 828. Then followed the Li, Ma, Chao, and Chen families. The Yang, Wu, and Shih families were also included in the first 10-family groups, all of which had over 200 families each.

At the other end of the list, there were 15 names that were represented by only one family each. Thirty-nine names had less than 10 families each, while 51 names had less than 25 families.

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The number of family names or clans represented in the different villages varied from one to 26. The average was 8.5. In Wang Chia Chuang, a village of 80 families, everybody was named Wang. In an-

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

618 other village with 64 families there were 44 Wang families and 20 Liu
551 families. In almost half of the villages the largest clan included over 50 per cent of the families in the village, while in some 20 per cent of the villages, the proportion was over 70 per cent. In almost one quarter of the villages the two largest clans together included over 90 per cent of the families in the village. In 58 per cent of the villages they included more than 70 per cent of the families. In 11 of the 453 villages of the entire hsien all the families had the same name.

618 The largest clan in each village varied in size from under five to over 250 families. In 21 per cent of the villages the largest clan had 100 or more families, while in one-third of the villages the largest one had between 50 and 99 families. In 44 per cent of the villages of the 4th District the largest clan had 100 or more families, but in the 1st District the ratio was only four per cent.

One hundred and sixty-two clans, 30 per cent of those in the Experimental District, reported that they owned some property in common. For two-thirds of the land-owning clans the value of the property was less than $1,000. The others ranged in value up to $4,000.

One hundred and fifty-six clans reported expenses for the business of the clan. These were relatively small amounts as the total was less than $20 a year for 55 per cent and under $40 a year for 93 per cent of the clans reporting group expenses. The largest amount reported was $200 a year. The reports do not give the details of these expenses nor do they show whether the income from the clan property was sufficient to meet them. Care of the family tombs and the cost of an "eating meeting" were some of the expenses met from the income from clan property (see Chapter XVII).

2:Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

764 expense for different class families was approximately $600, $360, $70, and $40.

76 588 The ceremonies and costs were highest for parents and those in the older generation. Infants and small children were buried with practically no ceremony. Older unmarried children had but little more ceremony as they generally could not be buried in the regular family graveyard. Sometimes the marriage match-maker was called in to arrange a wedding for the deceased child with an unmarried person of the opposite sex who died about the same time. In some cases the couple could then be buried in the main graveyard; in others they would have to be interred in a separate plot.

764 A man and wife were buried side by side in the same grave from three to four feet apart. Too great a distance might mean misfortune for the family.

In many of the villages some land was set aside for a public graveyard for poor families who could not afford to buy a grave plot.

769 618 For some of the large families who had been long in Ting Hsien the maintenance of the family graveyard was a matter for the entire clan and involved many related families and many people. A notice was sent out to each family of the clan, by the chairman for the year, giving the time of the memorial service on Ch'ing Ming and the first of the 10th moon. A fine of one or two catties of wine was imposed on anyone who was intentionally absent. The families met at the home of the chairman and went together to the family graveyard to repair the graves and worship the ancestors with offerings, paper money, and incense.

After the worship service the group often ate and drank together and discussed the repairing of the tombs, the planting of trees, the leasing of the clan property, and any other clan problems. The chairman, collectors, business manager, and clerk were elected by the members. The chairman served for one year. If no cooks were secured the collectors were responsible for preparing the feast. In some cases only the elders "of a suitable age" attended the "eating meeting". In others any one belonging to the clan was qualified to participate in the meeting, but it was generally customary for no women or children to attend.

The expenses for the care of the tombs and the "eating meeting" were met from the income from the clan property, or, if there was no property or the income was not sufficient to cover the expenses, by contributions from those who attended.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

The clan property was usually land that had been given or left as a legacy to the clan by some of its prosperous members. The land was regularly rented. Any money included in the clan property was usually loaned at interest, ordinarily at 1.5 per cent per month. The clan property was looked after in turn by the different families. The details on some clan property, income, and expenses are given in Chapter II.

It was said that the geomancers who helped locate suitable graves must spend 10 years before they could properly recognize the footprints of the dragon and 20 years before they could master the art of locating peaceful graves. Also that, as the dragon is an animal that walks near the water, it is proper to locate graves near the water.

When a family graveyard had been filled the geomancer was called in to find a new burial plot with auspicious influences that would add to the family welfare. This might be one plot for the large family or, if there were several families whose ancestors were buried in the original graveyard, each family might establish a separate plot in the same way that a family was often divided after the death of the father, with the sons setting up separate households.

In order to maintain the continuity of the generations some families exhumed their parents' bones and buried them in the position of honor at the top of the new graveyard. Whether this was done or not depended on the will of the clan and the decision of the geomancer. Neither would allow anything that would break the auspicious influence of the old graveyard.

If the decision was against moving the parents' bones a small symbolic coffin was often buried in the new graveyard. Then the current head of the family and his wife would be buried at the top of the plot, his sons and their wives in the next row and his grandsons and their wives in the third row.

If the geomancer approved of moving the parents' bones from the old to the new graveyard, the grave was opened at night or a mat-shed was built over the grave to keep out the sunlight lest it harm the spirits of the dead. A small coffin would still be used to hold the bones that were moved from the old to the new graveyard.

Proverbs

Proverbs, customary sayings, and rhymes were very numerous in the Ting Hsien villages. A few samples, selected by our Chinese associates,

3:Chao E-5 (1939-1941)1948 AF12 North China AF12

while others are barely in the social periphery.[23] A careful observation would indicate the following factors as of special importance.

The most obvious factors are sex and age. Sex is a factor of division as well as union, as already hinted in a previous section. A grown-up male and a grown-up female meeting in the street are not very communicative to each other. Husbands and wives are not very communicative in public. There is no tabu on communication between the sexes, nevertheless they are shy with each other. Consequently, each is a mystery to the other.

There are no formal age-groupings in P'ing-chiao-tsun, but the adults are very reserved in front of children. While children are very communicative when they are left alone, before their elders they too are quiet and non-communicative. Under such circumstances, it is very difficult indeed for parents to understand the thoughts of their children.

Anthropologists have given special emphasis to kinship as a factor of social grouping.[24] In P'ing-chiao-tsun, one-third of the families belong to the H-clan. Their houses cluster together in one block and occupy the geographic center of the village.[25] All the H-clansmen are descendants of three brothers whose father's name has been forgotten. From these three brothers downward, there are altogether six generations. Only one individual who belongs to the third generation still survives. He is over eighty at the moment of writing. About half of the fourth generation is still living and members of the fifth generation are still in the twenties and thirties.

The school principal belongs to the fifth generation. The head of the *pao* belongs to the fourth generation. These two individuals

23 J. L. Moreno has initiated a very interesting and suggestive study in social preference and social grouping in Who Shall Survive? Nervous and Mental Disease Monography Series No. 58, Washington, 1934.

24 "Nothing gives more insight into the intimate nature of social organization than the mode of naming relatives, ..." — Notes and Queries on Anthropology, fifth edition, London, 1929, p. 66. "By kinship is meant that system of relationships between individuals in a society which is integrally connected with the recognition of biological connection by birth and procreation on the one hand, and of a legalized social union involving sex relations between two individuals on the other. Basically marriage and the production of children, themselves intimately related from the social point of view, are the two types of links in the kinship chain." — Raymond Firth, We, The Tikopia: A Sociological Study of Kinship in Primitive Polynesia, London, 1936, p. 117.

25 A paper on the ecological structure of the village is in preparation.

3:Chao E-5 (1939-1941)1948 AF12 North China AF12

618 578 are the leading figures of the H-clan. Their relations can be characterized as harmonious, but in public appearance as well as in family relations, the school principal is subordinate to his distant uncle, the head of the *pao*. As to the other members of the clan, publicly, they act toward one another as clansmen, but inside their own houses they talk differently. Some of them even make accusations against their clansmen who belong to different families, in front of non-clan villagers and some of our investigators whom they take in as their friends.

608 The system of co-relations so popular throughout China is also found in P'ing-chiao-tsun. We have often heard the villagers say that so-and-so was so-and-so's *kan*-father or *kan*-son. All the kinship terms are employed except that a prefix "kan" 干 is added to each term. There are rights and obligations among co-relatives.[26] Co-relatives are neither related by blood nor by marriage. Through a certain proper ritual, two persons or two families can be made into co-relatives. The degree of intimacy between co-relatives, however, depends upon factors other than the ritual itself.

609 571 Kinship terms such as "uncle" and "aunt" are extended to non-clan villagers. Nevertheless, this extension is only a matter of courtesy or an expression of very close neighborliness and friendship. No segregation between clansmen and non-clan villagers can be observed. Indeed, non-clan individuals may be taken into the inner circle of social communication while a clansman may be excluded from it. Kinship tie is not very strong in P'ing-chiao-tsun.

571 From one of our investigations, territorial propinquity is an important factor in the matter of non-paid borrowings, e.g., the temporary inter-family borrowings of agricultural implements and household utensils. In many cases, a house-wife borrows fire from her neighbor's stove to cook her family meal.

565 829 556 The economic status in terms of the level of living of a family is a very important factor in social intercourse in P'ing-chiao-tsun. The villagers classify their households into three standings: upper, middle and low. There is only one family in the upper class. About one-third of the families belong to the low class. As already indicated previously, the upper family is isolated in the village, and their

26 The system of co-relations in China is in many respects quite comparable with the Pascuan system of ceremonial sponsorship as mentioned in E. H. Spicer, Pascua, A Yaqui Village in Arizona, Chicago, 1940.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

B. The Social Setting of the Guilds

• 618 An understanding of the place and setting of the guilds in China involves some appreciation of the structure of ancient Chinese civilization. Many such studies have been included in general works on China[1] and it will be unnecessary here to do more than merely indicate certain well-known features of Chinese social organization by way of general orientation.

THE FAMILY

Growing out of an agricultural economy, the paternalistic clan system became the fundamental group unit of Chinese social life. A detailed study of the ramifications of this system and its relation to the villages of South China has been made with thoroughness by D. H. Kulp, in his *Country Life in South China: the Sociology of Familism.* Blood relationship is the primary basis for the familistic alignments. Kulp points this out as follows:[2]

> As emphasized again and again, both historically and at present, blood is the fundamental determiner of relationships, obligations, rights, attitudes and values. It is the term of reference for all matters in village life. It is the chief category in the village universe of discourse. It sets the limits of the theoretical community; it fixes the physical characteristics of the village community in all its artificial aspects and is embodied in all significant forms of collective representation. It is the solidary unit of the village.

Kulp defines carefully the different senses in which the term " family " is used. The " sib," the ceremonial family, or what less accurately is usually called the clan, is the uni-

[1] *Cf.* Bibliography, p. 262.

[2] Kulp, *Country Life in South China: The Sociology of Familism*, (New York, 1925), p. 135.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

lateral kinship group, tracing descent from the male. The village studied by Kulp had a total population of 650, and, exclusive of a few engaged in business, all were members of the one "sib" with the same family name. 618

Birth establishes membership in the "sib." Adoption is practiced as a form of fictitious birth, and of course marriage gives women a status as members of the "sib."

As the "sib" increases in size, it splits into subdivisions, each branch worshiping the common ancestor, presumably the founder of the branch or the original ancestor of the entire "sib." These religious units in the South have their own ancestral temples where in fixed seasons worship of the dead is conducted.

What is commonly referred to as the Chinese family is what Kulp refers to as the economic family. 596

> . . . it is a group of people who on the basis of blood or marriage connections live together as an economic unit. It may be a natural-family or a number of natural-families which have not divided the ancestral inheritance. Occasionally it may coincide with the branch-family or religious-family. . . .
>
> Ordinarily an economic-family is composed of father, mother or mothers, grandparents—frequently a grandmother—the children of the father, and the wives of the children with their young children. This covers four generations. In such cases the groups tend to be large. The number of persons may vary from a single person to more than twenty in Phenix Village. In some villages nearby such groups contain more than one hundred persons. . . .
>
> The economic-family is really the working unit of the village community. While the religious-family functions primarily for the stability of the community, the economic-family provides its maintenance. Within this unit there is in general resources a limited form of communism. The administration of these resources lies in the hands of the *chia-chang* or head under the

4: Burgess E-4.5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

life.[1] At the present time in some craft guilds the invitation to the annual meeting is a request merely to worship the "guild god"; no mention is made of the transaction of business which plays a prominent part in the gathering.[2]

(2) There can be no denying the fact, substantiated by observation in North China, and also by D. H. Kulp in his book, *Village Life in South China,* that not only many villages but frequently larger towns are practically made up of persons of one name. In a private conversation Admiral Tsai Ting Kan, a prominent official in the Peking government, himself a native of Kwangtung Province, told of towns in Southern China of a good many thousand inhabitants where not only were the elders of the town the heads of the clan but the entire industry of the town was organized and monopolized by the clan. It is at least possible that many of the earliest guilds may have originated thus. This theory could have two forms: either these towns, originally dominated by those of one blood, took in members of other clans as they enlarged but left the monopoly of their particular trade or trades in the hands of the original stock, thus forming guilds within the city population; or those of one blood and name, in going to a nearby town, formed a monopolistic association to protect the clan members in making a livelihood.

(3) Another theory, which is advocated by Douglas, is that the guilds grew out of provincial or district associations. When persons of one district move to another place they frequently form associations for mutual protection. Douglas thus describes what he considers the origin of the commercial guilds:

A later development of trade has been the adoption of guilds,

[1] *Cf.* pp. 174-189.

[2] *Cf.* p. 96.